

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Editorial:

Downfall

Socialist Russia—
Capitalist Britain

THOS. BELL

After Edinburgh—
Blackpool

A. J. BENNET

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Downfall

THE Trotskyist Opposition hurries to meet its end. The leader of this Opposition has now fallen from the E.C. of the Communist International—a considerable fall. In October of last year he had already fallen from the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And in the beginning of August of this year he was about to slide from the Central Committee of his Party—certainly he was on the very edge—when the C.C. at the last moment threw him a straw, by which he can support himself for a few months until the coming Party Congress in December settles his fate.

This decline of comrade Trotsky from the leadership of the Comintern and of the C.P.S.U. is a plain example of historic determinism—it is the legitimate, inevitable consequence of the fractional struggle carried on under his lead, in which Trotskyism in its later form has shown itself to be identical, both ideologically and organisationally, with Trotskyism in its old (pre-1917) form, as an **abominable anti-Leninist tendency foreign to the Bolshevik Labour movement.**

THE ideological self-exposure of the later Trotskyism had already begun, as is well known, in the lifetime of Lenin, who, in his last letters (in the so-called "Testament") described the tendency of comrade Trotsky as "non-Bolshevik." It was made more clear by the fractional struggle led by comrade Trotsky in the year 1923. The Left phraseology, that Trotskyism has always used as camouflage, did not prevent either the C.P.S.U. or the other sections of the Comintern immediately perceiving the opportunist nature of Trotskyism. The Thirteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. as also the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern, condemned with one voice the tendency of comrade Trotsky as a "petty bourgeois deviation."

The Trotskyist fractional struggle obtained a sort of new life by the passing of comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev to the camp of the Opposition, but no strength among the masses. It became clear that these comrades had lost all support among the class conscious masses as irretrievably as had comrade Trotsky himself. The passing of these comrades from the way of Leninism to the way of Trotskyism, could not, of course, change the nature of Trotskyist ideology in any way. Non-

Bolshevism remained non-Bolshevism. Only the old signboard of Trotskyist phraseology was freshly painted—it must appear more dazzling than ever before, openly ultra revolutionary and at the same time posing as much as possible as "Bolshevik" and "Leninist." Even comrade Trotsky himself understood that the open continuation of his fractional struggle against Bolshevism and Leninism was hopeless. Therefore, they now began to propagate Trotskyism behind a Leninist mask. Henceforth no single Trotskyist appeared as a Trotskyist. Trotsky himself was no longer a Trotskyist. . .

However, this farce was also in vain. Only in the ranks of the C.P. of Germany was there a small minority of ultra left workers that allowed itself to be temporarily misled. On the other hand, in all the remaining Communist Parties and particularly in the C.P.S.U. the whole organisation at once repudiated the pseudo-Bolshevik demagoguery of Trotskyism. The Fifteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. and shortly after the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. have pitilessly torn the latest cloak from Trotskyism and revealed the naked "Social Democratic deviation" with its object of cultivating ideas of failure and a defeatist ideology in the Party.

THE leaders of Trotskyism would not, however, draw from these defeats the natural conclusion that they must give up their fractional activities. On the contrary, the more that their ideology and policy was revealed as anti-Leninist, the more reckless, spiteful and provocative became their fractional struggle against the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern. The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in May demanded categorically the cessation of fractional activity by comrade Trotsky and resolved that, failing this, he should be formally excluded from the E.C.C.I.

That was of no use. Ten days after the resolution of the E.C.C.I., comrade Trotsky appeared at the head of a demonstration hostile to the Party at Yaroslav Station. At the Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission in August, faced with the ultimatum of either carrying out the resolutions of the C.C. or being excluded, the Trotskyist leaders again promised to observe all resolutions of the Party and the C.C. But that has again been shown as conscious deceit.

Downfall—continued

In place of the promised break of their liaison with the foreign groups of renegades (Maslov, Souvarine, etc.), actual extension of the secret relations. In place of the promised observance of Party resolutions, according to which the anti-Party incitements of the Opposition were forbidden to be published—the publication of these in capitalist countries. In place of the promised cessation of the fractional struggle, the carrying out of a new fractional programme with unheard of, consciously lying, mud-slinging against the Party and the Comintern, secret distribution of these lying publications not only among Party members, but among non-Party intellectuals, for this purpose organising a secret illegal press with the help of non-Party accomplices part of whom were in direct contact with anti-Soviet elements, etc.

THE leadership of the Comintern would have been no Bolshevik leadership if it passed in silence this irresponsible fractional campaign that was led by comrade Trotsky (a candidate to the E.C.C.I.). The Presidium called comrade Trotsky (together with Vuyovitch, his colleague in the fraction, who also belonged to the E.C.C.I.) to account.

What was revealed at the hearing of this matter is very characteristic of Trotskyism.

The leader of the Opposition showed that he had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Even less than before was he inclined to see or acknowledge a single one of his many grave errors.

He will neither see nor acknowledge that his proposals on the subject of the internal and external policy of the Soviet Union, if they had been carried out, would have directly threatened the future of the proletarian dictatorship. Instead he has the audacity to come forward with the conscious lies that the leaders of the Soviet Government planned to pay the War Debts, to give up the monopoly of foreign trade, to give the "kulaks" greater political rights, etc.

He will neither see nor acknowledge that his adventurist programme in Chinese politics, if followed by the Comintern, would have endangered the revolution of the

working masses in China in as short-sighted and irresponsible manner as he himself, during the Brest-Litovsk affair, had gambled with the fate of the Russian proletarian revolution. On the contrary, he had the audacity to assert that the leaders of the Comintern intended to abandon China, although he knew quite well that the opposite is true.

He will neither see nor acknowledge that, had the Russian trade unions (according to his plans) and not the English trade union leaders, brought about the rupture of the Anglo-Russian Committee, it would have been the best possible help to the aims of the reformist Labour traitors in England. The treachery of Purcell, Hicks and Co. in connection with the war preparations of the British Government would not have been exposed but hidden. But he had the cheek to traduce the leaders of the Russian trade unions, and the Comintern, that had actually unmasked the English trade union leaders, as the saviours of these Labour traitors.

COMRADE TROTSKY places himself in the position of a petty bourgeois individualist, above the Party and the Comintern and demands for himself the right to spurn all decisions that do not please him. To him, with his impudent fractional activity, everything should be allowed—up to the organisation of illegal printing presses under the regime of the proletarian dictatorship. Even the danger of the threatened imperialist war against the proletarian dictatorship is of second importance to him as compared with the danger that, by the Leninist regime of the Party, his fraction work is curtailed. This regime, so he declares before the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., is to him "the greatest danger of all." This now appears to be the "Bolshevism" of comrade Trotsky: **Embodiment of anti-Leninist disruption** in the Communist ranks.

Comrade Trotsky is excluded from the Executive. From his "classic" example, all Communists can learn what Bolshevism and Leninism is **not**. That must also be made clear to all revolutionary workers. If we treat this episode correctly, we are confident that the question of the Trotskyist Opposition, in place of a negative ending, will indirectly yield many useful lessons for the Communist movement.



The Situation in the Communist Party of China at the V. Congress

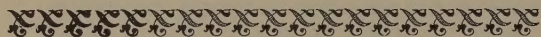
AT a meeting of the Eastern Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. held on September 17th, a report was delivered by comrade Roy on the situation in the Communist Party of China. The speaker pointed out that the symptoms of the mistakes committed by the Party in the critical period after the Fifth Congress were already to be observed at the Congress and before it. When the thesis of the Seventh Plenum was discussed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Party, which owing to the circumstances at the time consisted of only three acting members, three different points of view were expressed. One was that the thesis gave the Chinese Communist Party new perspectives and raised new problems. It was not quite certain whether the new thesis would work out correctly, but it might be given a trial. The second opinion was that there was nothing new in the thesis; and the third was that they were entirely acceptable. The thesis was not submitted to the whole Party for discussion with the result that up to the time of the Congress the bulk of the Party did not know of its existence.

When the members of the Central Committee and the active members of the Party came together for the Congress it became clear that the thesis was not understood by most of them. No formal objection to the

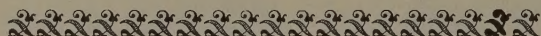
thesis was made. The trend of opinion was that it was a good thesis, but it remained to be seen whether it could be applied to conditions in China. The one way to make the thesis understood was to have a general discussion of the fundamental questions of the revolution at the Congress. There had been some dissatisfaction expressed with the Central Committee which had crystallised into a sort of Opposition and it was hoped that this would stimulate a general discussion of the tactics of the Party. It was found, however, that on all the fundamental questions there was little divergence of views between the Opposition and the Central Committee. The criticism was mainly concentrated upon the Party regime. On the eve of the Congress even the leading comrades, including Opposition, tried to avoid a discussion of the fundamental political questions. Even at the Congress itself an attempt was made to prevent a discussion on the political report, in which, by agreement with the Comintern delegation the fundamental political questions were to be brought up. It was only due to the intervention of the Comintern delegation that a discussion was provoked. A good discussion followed and many comrades took part in it. From the discussion it became clear that the Party as a whole was not in agreement with the policy

'Where Ignorance is Bliss . . .'

The old tag applies most truly to a recent much-advertised book entitled *Communism*, written by Professor Laski, a notorious Fabian. Evidently the learned Professor thought it 'folly to be wise' when dealing with the Communist movement. Militant workers will think otherwise. They will read the masterly and convincing study written by Ralph Fox as 'a Reply to H. J. Laski.' Bound in a striking coloured cover, 1/- (postage 1½d.)



A DEFENCE OF COMMUNISM



COMMUNIST BOOKSHOP, SIXTEEN KING STREET, LONDON, WC2

Situation in C.P. of China—contd.

of the Central Committee. Dissatisfaction was revealed with the old leadership, but this had not yet crystallised into a new leadership.

The Congress left a favourable impression. It showed that the Party had grown in numbers and influence. The Party was the only leader of the labour and peasant movement, but it had not yet developed a capable and experienced leadership. To strengthen the old leadership the Central Committee was enlarged from nine to forty members, of whom seventeen are workers active in the trade union movement.

While the Communist Party did not immediately realise the significance of the resolutions passed by the Party Congress the Kuomintang did and reacted to them at once. The Kuomintang realised that the Communist Party was coming out as the actual leader of the revolution. This stimulated them to take the offensive, the first manifestations of which were the counter-revolutionary action in Hunan. Our Party did not know how to meet this offensive, and instead of retaliating with a counter-offensive they took up a position of defence. Their view was that the reactionary militarists in the Kuomintang were attacking. The left wing is not strong enough to withstand the attack, it must retreat, and the Communists must help them to retreat. When the resolutions of the Eighth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the questions of the agrarian revolution, combatting the counter-revolution in Wuhan, the relations with the Kuomintang and the creation of a revolutionary army and arming of workers and peasants were received in China, which was not until July, they had no influence upon the Central Committee and finally they were rejected. The new elements that were introduced on the Central Committee could not exercise decisive influence, as most of them went into the provinces to carry on their work. The Politbureau consisted of the seven members who comprised the old Central Committee, so in fact, the leadership remained the same.

In regard to the conduct of the Party at the time of the Kuomintang attack upon it, comrade Roy said that a Plenum of the Central Committee was called which adopted the so-called platform of retreat, according to which the intensification of the revolution would mean a break with the Kuomintang. As the counter-revolution was strong and our forces weak, we must retreat and reserve our forces for the future. This meant the annulment of the resolutions of the Fifth Congress. Moreover, ever since the Fifth Congress it became clear that the Kuomintang had decided to break with the Party, but this the Party did not understand. It concentrated on the one question of how to avoid a break with the Kuomintang.

A contributing factor in the mistaken policies of the Party was its wrong conception of the Chiang Kai Shek split. Chiang Kai Shek did not take the whole of the bourgeoisie with him when he split. Some still remained in the Wuhan Kuomintang. The Party, however, regarded the Wuhan Kuomintang as a whole as a left wing organisation. The Party did not know how to force the petty bourgeoisie in the Wuhan Kuomintang against the reactionary element with the result that the reactionaries won them over to their side. The Wuhan Government could continue to exist independently only if it could develop the revolution, but the revolution could be developed only by developing the agrarian revolution. The Wuhan Government, however, was under the influence of the landowning interest and was, therefore, opposed to the agrarian revolution. Consequently, the only way open for it was the way of Chiang Kai Shek. This immediately brings up the relations between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

The revolution will proceed on the lines indicated in the theses and directions of the Comintern, that is: as a conspicuous, revolutionary force under the hegemony of the proletariat, carrying with it the oppressed petty bourgeois masses and the peasantry in the struggle against imperialism and native reaction and towards the democratic dictatorship.



The Political Complexion of the Russian Opposition

A Speech by J. Stalin

COMRADES, previous speakers have spoken so well and so soundly, especially comrade Bukharin, that little remains for me to say. I did not hear all comrade Vuyovitch's speech as I was not in the hall, and I caught only the tail of it. From that I gathered that he accuses the C.P.S.U. of opportunism, while he regards himself as a Bolshevik and takes it upon himself to teach the C.P.S.U. Leninism. What is to be said to that? Unfortunately, in our Party there is a certain number of people who call themselves Bolsheviks, but who actually have nothing whatever in common with Leninism. I think comrade Vuyovitch belongs among them. When such persons take it upon themselves to teach the C.P.S.U. Leninism, it is easy to realise what may come of it. I think comrade Vuyovitch's criticism does not deserve an answer. A little story of the German poet Heine comes to my mind, and I venture to tell it. Among various critics who wrote in the press against Heine, there was one very unsuccessful and quite untalented literary critic by the name of Aufenburg. The basic trait of this writer consisted in his unceasingly "criticising" and uncereimoniously plaguing Heine with his criticism in print. Heine obviously did not think it necessary to react to this "criticism" and remained obstinately silent. This astonished Heine's friends, and they wrote him a letter asking how they were to understand the fact that the writer Aufenburg had written a mass of critical articles against Heine yet Heine did not consider it necessary to answer. Heine found himself forced to answer. And what was his response to his friends' appeal? Heine answered in print in a few words: "I do not know the **writer** Aufenburg; I presume he is a kind of D'Arlincourt, whom also I do not know." Short, but expressive. Paraphrasing Heine's words, the Russian Bolsheviks could say in regard to Vuyovitch's critical exercises: "We do not know the **Bolshevik** Vuyovitch; we presume he is a kind of Scholem, whom also we do not know."

On comrade Trotsky and the Opposition. The fundamental misfortune of the Opposition consists in the fact that they do not understand those things which they babble about here. In his speech comrade Trotsky spoke on policy in China. But he does not want to admit that on the question of China the Opposition had no line, no policy whatever. There was a vacillation, a marking time, a tossing from side to side, but the Opposition had no line whatever. On three Chinese questions we have had debates: on the question of Communist participation in the Kuomintang, on the question of Soviets, and on that of the character of the Chinese revolution. On all these three questions the Opposition proved themselves bankrupt, for they had no line whatever.

The question of participation in the Kuomintang. In April, 1926, i.e., about a month after the Sixth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., at which a decision was taken in favour of Communists participating in the Kuomintang, the Opposition demanded the immediate with-

drawal of Communists from the Kuomintang. Why? Because, frightened by the first attack of Chiang Kai Shek (April, 1926), the Opposition demanded what was in essence an accommodation to Chiang Kai Shek, they thought to remove Communists from the play of revolutionary forces in China. However, formally the Opposition based their demand for withdrawal from the Kuomintang on the argument that Communists could not participate in bourgeois revolutionary organisations, among which the Kuomintang cannot but be counted. But a year later, in April, 1927, the Opposition demanded the participation of Communists in the Kuomintang of Wuhan. Why, on what ground? Had the Kuomintang ceased to be a bourgeois organisation in 1927? Where is the line here, or even the shadow of a line?

The Vacillations of the Opposition

The question of Soviets. Here also the Opposition had no definite line. In April, 1927, one section of the Opposition demanded the immediate organisation of Soviets in China for the overthrow of the Kuomintang in Wuhan (Trotsky). Simultaneously another section of the Opposition was also demanding an immediate organisation of Soviets, but for the support of the Kuomintang in Wuhan, and not for its overthrow (Zinoviev). And this is what they call a line! In addition, both sections of the Opposition, both Trotsky and Zinoviev, in demanding the organisation of Soviets, demanded together with the participation of Communists in the Kuomintang, the participation of Communists in a governing party. See where they get to! To set up Soviets and at the same time to demand that Communists shall participate in the governing party, i.e., in the Kuomintang, is nonsense of a kind that not everybody could think their way into. And that is called a line!

The question of the character of the Chinese revolution. The Comintern considered and continues to consider that the basis of revolution in China at the given period is the agrarian-peasant revolution. But what is the Opposition's opinion on this point? Altogether it never did have a definite opinion on the matter. First they assured us that an agrarian revolution could not take place in China since there was no feudalism whatever there; then they declared that an agrarian revolution was possible and indispensable in China, although they did not admit that the survivals of feudalism in China had any serious importance; so that it was impossible to understand where an agrarian revolution could come from in such a case; then they assured us that the chief point in the Chinese revolution was not the agrarian revolution, but a revolution for customs autonomy. See where they get to!

That is the nature of the Opposition's so-called "line" on the disputed questions of the Chinese revolution.

The Political Complexion—continued

That is no line, but a marking time, a confusion, the complete absence of a line.

And these individuals take it on themselves to criticise the Leninist position of the Comintern! Is it not absurd, comrades?

Comrade Trotsky has spoken here of the revolutionary movement in Kwantung, of the armies of Yeh Ting and Ho Lung, accusing us of setting up here a kind of new Kuomintang to head this movement. I shall not refute this abominable libel, sucked out of comrade Trotsky's own finger. I wish only to declare that all this matter of the southern revolutionary movement, the exodus of Yeh Ting's and Ho Lung's armies from Wuhan, their advance on Kwantung, their union with the peasant revolutionary movement, etc.—all this business was begun on the initiative of the Chinese C.P. Does comrade Trotsky know that? He ought to know it, if he knows anything at all. Who will head this movement, if it meets with success, if a new wave of revolution in China becomes a fact? The Soviets, of course. While earlier, in the period of the development of the Kuomintang, favourable conditions for the immediate setting up of Soviets did not exist, now, when the Kuomintangites have made fools of themselves and discredited themselves by their connection with counter-revolution, now if the movement is successful Soviets can become and actually will become the basic force, consolidating around themselves the workers and peasants of China. And who will head the Soviets? The Communists, of course. But the Communists will no longer participate in the Kuomintang, if a revolutionary Kuomintang appears once more on the scene. Only ignoramuses can associate the presence of Soviets with the possibility of Communists' participating in the Kuomintang Party. To associate these two incompatible things signifies a failure to understand the nature and purpose of the Soviets.

The Anglo-Russian Committee

The same has to be said on the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee. Here we have the same vacillation and absence of line among the Opposition. At first the Opposition was enchanted with the Anglo-Russian Committee. They even affirmed that the Anglo-Russian Committee was a means of "rendering reformism in Europe innocuous" (Zinoviev), obviously forgetting that the British half of the Anglo-Russian Committee was itself composed of reformists. Then, when the Opposition finally discovered that Purcell and his friends were reformists, they passed from enchantment to disenchantment, and even further, to despair, and demanded its immediate break-up as a means of overthrowing the General Council, not realising that it is not possible to overthrow the General Council from Moscow. One stupidity after another—that was how the Opposition line in the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee found expression. Trotsky is not capable of understanding that when the matter had ripened to a rupture, the basic question was not the rupture in itself, but the matter over which the rupture came about, the idea which was demonstrated by the rupture. What is the idea which is demonstrated by the rupture which has already taken place? The idea of the menace of war,

the idea of the necessity to struggle with the war danger. Who can deny that it is this very idea which is now the fundamental question of the moment throughout Europe. But from that it follows that it was on this particular question that the working masses had to be brought up against the treachery of the General Council, and this we did. The fact that the General Council was forced to take the initiative and the odium of the rupture at the moment of the menace of a fresh war—that fact better than anything else unmasks before the eyes of the working masses the treacherous and social-democratic "nature" of the General Council on the fundamental question of war. But the Opposition protests that it would be better if we had taken on ourselves the initiative and odium of the rupture.

And that is what they call a line! And these bewildered individuals take it on themselves to criticise the Leninist position of the Comintern! Isn't it absurd, comrades?

The "Seizure" of Power in the Party

Still worse is the Opposition's position on the question of our Party, on the question of the C.P.S.U. Comrade Trotsky does not understand our Party. He does not have a correct conception of our Party. He looks at our Party exactly as does a lord or a bureaucrat at his subordinates. Otherwise he would not affirm that in a party of a million, in the C.P.S.U. individual persons, individual leaders can "seize power," can "usurp" power.

The "seizure" of power in a party of a million, a Party which has passed through three revolutions and is to-day shaking the foundations of world imperialism—that is the nonsense into which comrade Trotsky has talked himself. Is it at all possible to "seize" power in a party of a million, a party full of revolutionary tradition? If so, why did Trotsky not succeed in "seizing" power in the Party, in making his way to leadership of the Party? How is that to be explained? Is comrade Trotsky more stupid or less intelligent than Bukharin or Stalin? Has comrade Trotsky no will, no desire for leadership? Is it not a fact that for more than two decades now Trotsky has been struggling with the Bolsheviks for leadership of the Party? Is he a lesser orator than the present leaders of our Party? Would it not be truer to say that as an orator comrade Trotsky stands higher than many of the present leaders of our Party? In that case how is it to be explained that comrade Trotsky, despite his oratorical art, despite his abilities, has been thrown aside from the leadership of the great Party called the C.P.S.U.? Comrade Trotsky is inclined to explain it by saying that in his opinion our Party is a voting machine which blindly follows Stalin and Bukharin. But only persons contemptuous of it and regarding it as a mob could speak so of our Party. That is the opinion of an indignant Party aristocrat. It is a symptom of the fact that Trotsky has lost the Party sense, has lost the ability to discover the actual causes of the Party's distrust in the Opposition. Actually, how is the utter distrust of the Party in the Opposition to be explained? It is explained by the fact that the Opposition designed to replace Leninism by Trotskyism, to supplement Leninism with Trotskyism, to "improve" Leninism with Trotskyism. Well, but the Party wishes

The Political Complexion—continued

to remain faithful to Leninism, despite all and every artifice of the indigent aristocrats of the Party. There is the root of the fact that the Party which has passed through three revolutions has found it necessary to reject Trotsky and the Opposition generally. And the Party will act in a similar fashion with every "leader" and "director" who designs to paint over Leninism with Trotskyism or with any other form of opportunism. By conceiving our Party as a voting machine, comrade Trotsky expresses contempt for the Party masses of the C.P.S.U. Then why is it astonishing to find the Party in its turn responding to that contempt by the expression of a complete distrust of comrade Trotsky?

The Opposition and the Party Regime

The Opposition is in just as bad a case in the question of our Party regime. Comrade Trotsky represents the matter as though the present Party regime, repugnant to all the Opposition, is in some way different in principle by comparison with the Party regime which existed in Lenin's time. He wants to represent the matter as though he does not object to the regime established by Lenin after the Tenth Congress, and that he carries on a struggle, personally, with the present regime in the Party, which in his opinion, has nothing in common with the regime established by Lenin. I declare, comrades, that comrade Trotsky is here uttering a direct falsehood. I declare that the present Party regime is an exact expression of the same regime that was established in the Party during the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses of our Party. I affirm that the struggle of the Trotskyites against the Leninist regime in the Party began even in Lenin's days, that the present struggle of the Trotskyites is a continuation of that struggle against the Party regime which they carried on even in Lenin's time.

What are the bases of this regime? That while carrying on inter-Party democracy and allowing a useful criticism of deficiencies and mistakes in the Party, at the same time no kind of fractional activity can be permitted and all fractional activity must be eliminated under pain of expulsion from the Party. When was such a regime established in the Party? At the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses of our Party. I affirm that comrade Trotsky and the Opposition are carrying on a struggle with this very Party regime. We have such a document as the "Declaration of the 46," signed by such Trotskyites as Piatakov, Preobrazhensky, Serebrakov, Alsky and others, in which it is openly said that the regime established in the Party after the Tenth Congress has outlived itself and become intolerable to the Party. What did these individuals demand? They demanded the allowing of fractional groupings in the Party and the repeal of the corresponding regulation of the Tenth Congress. That was in 1923. I declare that comrade Trotsky entirely and completely shared the position of the "46," carrying on a struggle against the Party regime established after the Tenth Congress. That is where the Trotskyites' struggle against the Leninist regime in the Party began. (Trotsky: I made no mention of the Tenth Congress, you're inventing it.) Comrade Trotsky cannot but know that I can prove it with documents. (Trotsky: You did not prove it to the trade

unions and you're not proving it now. You're lying.) Keep your strong language for yourself. You only discredit yourself by swearing. These documents have been preserved in their entirety, I shall distribute them to the comrades, and then it will be clear which of us is lying. I affirm that the Trotskyites who signed the "Declaration of the 46," carried on a struggle with the Leninist regime in the Party even in Lenin's time. I affirm that comrade Trotsky supported that struggle against the Leninist regime all the time, inspiring and driving the Opposition forward. I affirm that Trotsky's present struggle against our Party regime is the continuation of that anti-Leninist struggle of which I have just spoken.

Anti-Party Organisation

The question of the Trotskyites' illegal anti-Party printing press. Comrade Trotsky constructed his written speech so that he did not even touch clearly on the illegal press, evidently considering that he was not obliged to deal with such "details" as an illegal anti-Party Press. His was not the speech of an accused, but the declaration of an Opposition coming forward with accusations against the Comintern and the C.P.S.U. But meantime, it is clear that the question of the illegal anti-Party press entirely and completely unmasks both Trotsky and his adherents of the Opposition as enemies of the Party spirit, as splitters and disorganisers of the proletarian work. Actually comrade Trotsky considers that the Opposition is right—therefore it has the right to set up its own illegal press. But besides the Trotsky group there are still other Opposition groups in the C.P.S.U.: the "workers' Opposition," the Sapronovists and so on. Each of these little groups considers itself in the right. If we are to follow comrade Trotsky's footsteps we must allow that each of these groups has the right to set up its own illegal press. Assuming that they do actually set up their illegal press, and the Party does not carry on a struggle with this evil, what then will be left of the Party? For what does it mean to allow the existence of illegal presses to all and every grouping in the Party? It signifies to allow the existence of several centres in the Party, each having its own "programme," its own "platform," its own "line." What then will remain of the iron discipline in our Party, which Lenin regarded as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Is such a discipline possible without a single and unique directing centre? Does comrade Trotsky realise the bog he falls into by defending the right of Opposition groups to organise illegal anti-Party presses?

Trotsky and Bonapartism

The question of Bonapartism. In this matter the Opposition manifests a complete ignorance. By accusing the large majority of our Party of attempts at Bonapartism comrade Trotsky merely demonstrates his own complete ignorance and misunderstanding of the roots of Bonapartism. What is Bonapartism? Bonapartism is the attempt to fasten on the majority the will of the majority by resort to force. Bonapartism is the seizure of power in a party or a country by a minority against the majority by resort to force. But if the supporters of the line of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. represent the huge majority both in the Party and in the Soviets, how

The Political Complexion—continued

can they talk such nonsense as that the majority is endeavouring seemingly to fasten on itself its own will by resort to force? Whenever in history did it happen that a majority fastened on itself its own personal will by resort to force? And who, except a lunatic, can believe in the possibility of such an inconceivable thing? And is it not a fact that the Opposition represents an insignificant handful?

One can conceive of the majority of our Party fastening its will on the minority, i.e., the Opposition. And that is quite legal in the Party sense of the word. But how can one imagine that the majority has fastened on itself its own personal will and that too by resort to force? What kind of Bonapartism can be referred to by that? Will it not be truer to say that among the minority, i.e., among the Opposition, may appear tendencies to fasten its will on the majority? If such tendencies were to appear there would be nothing surprising in it, for the minority, i.e., the Trotskyites, have no other possibility of seizing the leadership except by resort to force against the majority. So that if there is to be talk of Bonapartism let comrade Trotsky seek candidates for Bonaparte in his own group.

The Opposition and the Foreign Anti-Communist Groups

A word of two on degeneration and Thermidorianism. I shall not here take up the analysis of those stupid and ignorant accusations of degeneration and Thermidorianism which the Opposition sometimes makes against the Party. I shall not occupy myself with them because they are not worth analysis. I should like to raise the question from the purely practical aspect. Grant for a minute that the Trotskyist Opposition presents a really revolutionary policy, and not a Social-Democratic deviation, in that case how is the fact to be explained that all the opportunist elements that have degenerated and been driven out of the Party and the Comintern, group themselves around the Trotskyist Opposition, finding there shelter and defence for themselves? How is it to be explained that Ruth Fischer and Maslov, Scholem and Urbahns, driven out of the Comintern and the German C.P. as degenerate and renegade elements, find defence for themselves and a cordial reception in this same Trotskyist Opposition? How is it to be explained that such opportunistic and really degenerated individuals as Souvarine and Rosmer in France, and Ossovsky and Dashkovsky in the U.S.S.R. find shelter in this very Trotskyist Opposition? Can we call it chance that the Comintern and the C.P.S.U. expels from its ranks these degenerated and Thermidorian-disposed individuals, while Trotsky and Zinoviev take them to their embrace, give them shelter and defence? Do not these facts declare that the revolutionary phrases of the Opposition remain phrases, while in actuality the Opposition is a concentration point for degenerated elements? Does not all this indicate that the Trotskyist Opposition is the nest and nursery of degenerationism and Thermidorianism? In any case in our C.P.S.U. there is only one group which gathers around itself all and sundry tricksters in the nature of Maslov and Ruth Fischer, Souvarine and Ossovsky. That group is the group of Trotsky.

Such in its entirety and completeness, comrades is the political complexion of the Opposition.

But what conclusion is to be drawn, you ask? There is one conclusion. The Opposition has got so confused that they have cleverly driven themselves into a blind alley from which there is no exit, and they have found themselves up against the choice: either the Comintern and the C.P.S.U., or Maslov, Ruth Fischer and the renegades of the illegal anti-Party press. It is not possible to dangle eternally between these two camps. It is time to choose. Either with the Comintern and the C.P.S.U., and then—war on Maslov and Ruth Fischer, on all and sundry renegades. Or else against the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern, and then—no one bars their way to the group of Maslov and Ruth Fischer, to all the renegades and the degeneratists, to all the Scherbakovs and other rubbish. (Applause.)

Editorial Note.—On October 3rd comrade Stalin presented to the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. as an appendix to the minutes of the joint session of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. the documentary evidence on which he based his speech, viz.:

(a) Extract from the "Declaration of the 46" (15th October, 1923) with the signatures of Piatakov, Preobrazhensky, Serebrakov, Alsky and others.

"The regime established inside the Party is absolutely intolerable. It destroys the independent activity of the Party, replacing the Party by a selected officialised apparatus, which works satisfactorily in normal time, but which inevitably misses fire in the moment of crisis, and which threatens to prove absolutely bankrupt in the presence of approaching serious occurrences. **The present position is explained by the fact that the regime of fractional dictatorship objectively built up inside the Party since the Tenth Congress has outlived itself.**"

(b) Extract from the declaration of comrade Trotsky in the C.C. and C.C.C. (8th October, 1923):

"That regime which in its basis was built up before the Twelfth Congress, and after that Congress received its final consolidation and formulation, is much farther from workers' democracy than the regime of the most ruthless periods of war Communism."

In elucidation of these extracts it is necessary to say that before the Twelfth Congress we had the Eleventh Congress (Spring, 1922), and the Tenth Congress (Spring, 1921), the work of which was directed by Lenin and in the resolutions of which was formulated that same Party regime against which vociferate both the "Declaration of the 46" (Trotskyites) and the above-mentioned declaration of Trotsky himself.

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WORKERS' LIFE

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Socialist Russia—Capitalist Britain

Thomas Bell

TEN years of Soviet triumph! What a wealth of meaning in these words! When the Bolsheviks took power in November, 1917, the whole capitalist world, especially the Social Democratic section of it, scarcely gave them ten weeks to live. And to make doubly sure, men, munitions and money were poured into Russia in a frenzied attempt to stamp out such audacity and presumption of the Bolsheviks.

To have come through such an ordeal, of murder, incendiarism and sabotage of all kinds; of harassment by enemies from without and within, is truly marvellous. Add to these terrible times of murderous counter-revolution, the awful affliction of the famine with its deadly toll of tens of thousands of precious human lives, and it is bordering on the miraculous that the Soviet Union exists at all.

Our Enemies' Hope for Failure

The whole chorus of capitalist and social-democratic scribes predicted failure. To begin with, the revolution had neither received the sanction of the bourgeois democrats, nor the consent of the pseudo-Marxists of the Second International. How then could it survive? It had no technical skill either in running industry or in conducting a government! At best, as our British Labour leaders at first hailed the revolution, it was a great "experiment." Whatever values it had for future history, of course, it was impossible to succeed. Such was the verdict of capitalist and Labour publicists alike.

This verdict seemed to be fulfilled when Lenin made his famous pronouncement in the Spring of 1921 on the New Economic Policy. At last, the pundits of the Second International were to be vindicated. The Bolsheviks were retreating to capitalism. Why did they not see this in 1917 before they seized power and so (as our social-democratic ministerialists alleged) save all the ruin and chaos of the civil war?

From a practical standpoint this attitude seemed to be in complete harmony with the facts. The Soviet Republic had come face to face with a severe political crisis. Amongst wide sections of the peasants and the town workers there did exist widespread discontent. Undoubtedly, the Government was going beyond its economic resources; the direct transition to a pure socialist distribution of wealth was beyond the slender means of the Republic. A retreat was necessary. But how to carry this through successfully while retaining the power in the hands of the proletariat? That was the great problem.

Their Error

Six years after this historical pronouncement of Lenin, the Soviet Union is able to say with perfect candour, "We have triumphed." The base for the transition to a socialist economy has been well and truly laid. The period of reconstruction is closed; the epoch of construction is opened; the political dictatorship of the proletariat is as firm as granite.

Comrade Lenin in 1922 declared: "If we succeed in

stabilising the rouble for any length of time, and subsequently finally stabilising it, then we have won." Judged from this standard, on this Tenth Anniversary, we **have** won, for the stability of the rouble is beyond question.

This financial stability is a great achievement when we remember it has been done in face of a great international financial blockade. Consider for a moment, the precarious position of other States born out of the Great War. Is there a single one of these States, even when fed by the imperialist bankers, that can compare its financial stability with that of the Soviet Republic? Not one. All of them are in a helpless state of dependence on "doles" from the big imperialist powers.

But this financial stability is an index of something more than excellent bookkeeping. It is an indication of a considerable industry. Products circulate freely, and economic wants are now being supplied at a ratio that is only limited by capital resources. The peasantry, which had great difficulty in paying its taxes in kind before the introduction of N.E.P. are now able to pay and retain a surplus for capital investment.

The important change of 1927 compared with 1921 is in the political mood of the masses. Whereas in 1921 it was hostile, to-day the Tenth Anniversary can be held amidst the general rejoicings of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry and industrial proletariat. The Soviet Government can contemplate a seven-hours' day and find millions of roubles for housing, educational and social aims.

A Contrast

Contract the position of the Russian working masses with the conditions of the great industrial proletariat of England. Since 1918 the working class of England has lost nearly £5,000,000,000 in wages. Big industry, supported by the bourgeois governments, has attacked the basis of the once powerful trade union movement of Great Britain. Bankrupt of funds, membership depleted, with no centralised leadership, the trade union workers are at the mercy of a bourgeoisie fighting for its very life against more powerful capitalist rivals.

The period of "progressive social reform" that marked the growth of an expanding imperialist empire, is closed. The permanent army of two millions unemployed, with appalling destitution; a budget that has nothing for social services, say, can only be balanced at the expense of the social services, compels a policy for the bourgeois class of a more intense exploitation of the working masses of Britain. It is no small thing to emphasise the fact that this greater and greater exploitation of the British working class is carried out with the direct connivance of the bureaucratic leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party. For the present industrial peace policy—a policy which has been accentuated since the bureaucrats were brought face to face with reality in the form of the General Strike in 1926—is a cowardly refusal to fight capitalism, a direct connivance with the capitalists in enslaving the workers—a victory for capitalism. Yet, notwithstanding the action of the Lab-

Soviet Russia—Capitalist Britain—contd.

our bureaucracy in England in breaking the Anglo-Russian alliance; notwithstanding the sickening hypocrisy of the Labour parliamentarians in denouncing the execution of avowed counter-revolutionary enemies of the Republics, and the refusal to defend the Soviet Union against the forgers' Government in its provocative policy of diplomatic isolation of Russia, tens of thousands, aye, millions of British workers salute the Russian proletariat on the occasion of their Ten Years' Soviet Triumph.

Bruised and broken as the British workers may be

after the vicious battering they have received from the capitalists and their lackeys of the T.U.C. and Labour Party; inarticulate as they may be in an organised sense, except through the medium of the Communist Party and the Left Wing and Minority elements of the trade unions, nevertheless millions of stout proletarian hearts in Great Britain are beating in unison to-day with the heroic workers and peasants of the Soviet Union on this Tenth Anniversary of Workers' Rule.

Speed the day when Workers' England will join with Soviet Russia to extend the red front of the social revolution.

A Difficult Transition—From Kuomintang to Soviets

THE revolutionary army, led by Yeh-Ting and Ho-Lung, which raised a revolt at the beginning of August in Nanchang, remaining two months in Kwantung and occupying Swatow, has now been forced to retreat and to evacuate not only Swatow, but also Chang and Chaochow. According to reports still unconfirmed it is surrounded on three sides, and, suffering partial defeats, is fighting its way to Amoy, to the great centre of peasant revolts.

At the moment it is difficult to foresee how this campaign will end; whether the revolutionary army of Yeh-Ting and Ho-Lung will take Canton, or will suffer defeat in the immediate future and be dispersed. The experience of civil war in Russia and in China shows that in a civil war a revolution army which has the sympathy of the masses of the people can emerge triumphantly from such difficulties as no army ever emerged from in an ordinary war.

Whether this be so or not, if the fact is taken into consideration that Yeh-Ting's and Ho-Lung's army was able to advance successfully for two months, despite the united counter-revolutionary front of the entire bourgeoisie and all the Kuomintangites headed by the "lefts," and despite the universal betrayal of the revolution by the generals (including General Chang-Fat-Kwai, who at first attached himself to the attack on Kwantung); if the fact is taken into consideration that Yeh-Ting's and Ho-Lung's little army as it moved on to the south grew continually larger with divisions of peasants, the revolt among whom is continually extending, then one can say that the Chinese revolution lives. And the very difficulties which the revolutionary army is facing, and which unquestionably will yet increase and grow more complicated, financial and economic difficulties and the danger of direct imperialist intervention if it succeeds in occupying Canton, witness only to the fact that the Chinese revolution is passing to a higher stage—to the democratic dictatorship of proletariat and peasantry, directed against the united front of the feudalists and the bourgeoisie—and that it will now rally not under the banner of the Kuomintang, but under the banner of the Soviets.

The Failure of the Chinese Bourgeoisie

The Chinese revolution lives, because the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie has proved itself impotent to realise those tasks which it set itself. After the revolt of the Communists in Nanchang and the defeat of Chiang Kai Shek on the Pukow-Tientsin railway a reconciliation occurred between Wuhan and Nanking. The prime mover in this friendship of yesterday's enemies was the traitor Feng-Yu-Hsiang. In the name of what did he bring them together? On July 20th he published an "Open Letter" to his "fellow-citizens and revolutionary comrades," in which he argued the necessity of co-operation between Nanking and Wuhan. In this letter he wrote: "The Communistic comrades should abandon the revolutionary front and call a halt to the class struggle of workers and peasants. There are no classes in China. One ought not artificially to provoke such a struggle. For China the slogan is national revolution, and not class struggle." The same spirit was expressed in the manifesto published on August 19th by the Wuhan Government and the Wuhan Central Committee of the Kuomintang.

"Par 2. The split [between Wuhan and Nanking] has brought great injury to the Party. . . . When we are again united, we shall within a short time be forced to annihilate imperialists and militarists.

"Par 3. The enemies of our nation, the betrayers of our Party, the Communists, who only thanks to us have grown into a great force, must inevitably be annihilated, but by peaceful means." (?)

Such in their own words was the task of the united bourgeois counter-revolutionary bloc: on the one hand to carry on still more energetically the struggle against the militarists and the imperialists, on the other to strangle the workers' and peasants' movement and to exterminate the Communists "by peaceful means." The reservation in regard to the "peaceful methods" of exterminating the Communists was the tribute which the bourgeoisie paid to the hypocrisy of the left Kuomintangites who had be-

A Difficult Transition—continued

trayed the work of the revolution. Actually this "peaceful" extermination consisted in cutting off the heads of the Communists in Wuhan as zealously as in Shanghai. But how did the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie fulfil its task?

They promised "in a short time to annihilate the militarists," but actually they have strengthened the role of the militarists and themselves have been transformed into such. At the same time that Feng-Yu-Hsiang was arranging the marriage of the Hankowites and the Nankingites, he concluded a secret agreement with the Shansi Tuchun, the militarist Yen-Hsi-Shan, one of the clauses of which read: "After the conquest of Chihli by Feng-Yu-Hsiang a **strict territorial division** is to take place, the territory along the Pekin-Shoyang railway is to be ceded to Yen-Hsi-Shan." Thus did Feng-Yu-Hsiang begin the "uniting" of China without the aid of the Communists. Still better was the struggle with the militarists "carried on" at this period by Chiang Kai Shek. While Feng-Yu-Hsiang was laying the foundations for an alliance between the Wuhanites and the Nankingites, Chiang Kai Shek was making energetic efforts to establish a triple alliance between himself, Chiang Kai Shek, Yen-Hsi-Shan and Chang-Tso-Lin. On July 28th, the representatives of Chiang Kai Shek were carrying on conversations concerning the alliance with Chang-Tso-Lin in Pekin, Chiang Kai Shek's proposal meeting with the warm sympathy of the "young group" of Chang-Tso-Linites headed by Chang-Tso-Lin's son, Chang-Hsueh-Liang. The negotiations broke down only thanks to the opposition which the representative of the "old gang" of Chang-Tso-Lin's adherents, Sun-Chuan-Fang, put up to the agreement. Thus, at the same time that they were talking about intensifying the struggle against the northern militarists they were actually carrying on negotiations for a close alliance with them!

Capitulation to Japan

The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie promised "in a short time to annihilate the imperialists." But what did they undertake and what achieve in this direction? The newspaper "L'Impartial," published in Tientsin, in the issue published August 12th, had a communication from Shanghai. "Yesterday evening Chiang Kai Shek and Hu-Han-Min arranged a banquet in honour of the Japanese ambassador, in which all the leading members of the Nanking Government participated. Hu-Han-Min was chairman at the banquet and made a ceremonial speech. He said: 'To-day for the first time our Government receives a foreign diplomat. From the whole history of the Kuomintang it follows that our Party has always been in friendship with Japan. We hope that in the future also we shall be able to go hand in hand.' " To which Chiang Kai Shek added the wish that "Japan would continue to assist China to realise its national revolution." This is like offering the wolf the job of shepherding the sheep.

The reconciliation of Chiang Kai Shek and the establishment of a close alliance between him and Japanese imperialism was broken off not through any fault of Chiang Kai Shek, but because the triple alliance, which he was planning with Yen-Hsi-Shan and Chang-Tso-

Lin and to which Japan was sympathetic, did not come about, thanks to the opposition of the "old gang" of Chang-Tso-Lin's adherents. But none the less Japan was able by another means to exploit the actual annihilation of the anti-imperialist front of the Chinese bourgeoisie in order to occupy Southern Manchuria entirely, and according to the latest news she is preparing even to send soldiers to Pekin. At the same time as this capitulation to Japan was taking place on the territory of the Nanking Government, on the territory of the Wuhan Government a capitulation to British imperialism was occurring. The British concession in Hankow, which had been seized in revolutionary fashion by the Hankow workers, now again passed into the hands of the British without the least opposition, without even a protest from the Wuhanites.

The Workers' Move Again

The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie promised to bring the class struggle of the workers and peasants to an end by peaceful means. But what did they achieve? On the one hand they applied the measures of a ruthless White Terror to the Communists, workers and peasants, while on the other they endeavoured to corrupt the workers; breaking up the class trade unions, they set up new yellow Fascist trade unions, falsely promising the workers to raise wages, to shorten the working day, to pass Labour legislation, to introduce the protection of women's and children's labour and so on.

What in actuality did they achieve with their methods of terror and trickery? While shortly after the Chiang Kai Shek coup in May, in consequence of the Terror the number of workers on strike in Shanghai dropped to 2,500, and the number of strike days fell to 5,350; by June a new wave of strike movement had begun in Shanghai. In June, 13,166 workers were on strike there, while the number of strike days rose again to 35,423. After Chiang Kai Shek was deposed, a new advance of the workers' movement began in Canton also. On August 19th the Shanghai newspapers published communications from Canton to the effect that a great strike of machine building workers was being planned there; on August 28th a struggle took place in the streets of Fuchow between the police and the rickshaw workers. The following day the rickshaw workers presented the chief of police with a number of demands. When these demands were turned down, 8,000 rickshaw workers organised a strike and the majority of their demands had to be granted. At the same time, after Chiang Kai Shek was deposed a political strike of textile factory workers began in Shanghai. Twelve hundred workers in a Japanese textile factory stopped work and began to distribute pamphlets against the Nanking Government. A day later the workers of other enterprises joined in the strike, and so on. The peasant movement developed still more strongly than the strike movement in the towns. The peasant revolution is taking on continually greater dimensions throughout all Southern China and only thanks to it were Yeh-Ting and Ho-Lung able to advance on Kwantung.

The Divisions in the Bourgeoisie

But the impotence of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie to establish "order" in China is shown not only by the fresh rise of the workers' and peasants'

A Difficult Transition—continued

movement. Even the commercial bourgeoisie have begun to murmur at the manner of rule of the Nanking Government. After Chiang Kai Shek's flight the Japanese newspaper "Shui-kien-Shipao," published in Peking, in its leading article of August 16th, wrote concerning the Nanking Government: "The financial need of the Government has aroused it to take all possible and impossible measures for increasing its receipts. The result has been that the Government has not only lost all sympathy among the people, but has aroused as strong a dissatisfaction among the Shanghai bourgeoisie. . ."

And on the same theme the representatives of the commercial bourgeoisie itself, the chairman of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, Yu-Su-King, shortly after Chiang Kai Shek's departure said: "The extreme sufferings which the traders have undergone were caused by the stoppage of trade in the Yang region, by a paralysis in the disposal of goods and a crisis in money circulation. . . . I must also add a few words on the two latest decrees. First in regard to the prohibition of the export of silver. Since that decree was published there have been secretly exported sixty million taels. Shanghai's normal circulation was about 100 million taels, now only thirty to forty millions is in circulation there, so that we must fear a catastrophe. In regard to the abolition of 'likin' [internal customs dues] and the increase of supplementary taxes; with a just execution of these measures the burdens of the merchants might be cut down by half, but from the point of view of the Government these measures cause me some perplexity, for after they have been put into force imported goods will flow not through Shanghai, but through other ports, so that the sum of duties will ultimately not be increased, but will decrease. As for financial support to the Government on the part of the merchants, I have to say that down to the present time instead of thirty millions we have spent over sixty million dollars." Of course this dissatisfaction of the commercial bourgeoisie does not in the least signify that they have any serious political differences with the ruling Kuomintang. It only reveals the difficulty of establishing a stable bourgeois order under present conditions in China.

Entering on a New Stage

The Chinese revolution lives, but a deep breach has been dug by history between the new, only just beginning, stage of the Chinese revolution and its former stages. In the previous stages of the revolution there existed the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist bloc of the proletariat and peasantry with the national bourgeoisie. In the previous stages the Chinese revolution was carried on under the banner of the Kuomintang, which preached the programme of Sun-Yat-Sen. In its time, this bloc, this banner and this programme did not hinder, but despite the resistance of the national bourgeoisie **objectively** forwarded the development of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement; in its time **objectively** it did not hinder, but forwarded the growth of the Communist Party in China, and within the framework of the Kuomintang the Party began a struggle with the bourgeoisie for the controlling leadership of the Chinese revolution. Now all this has been radically changed. The bourgeoisie, which so long ago as the spring of 1926 made an

attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup, in April, 1927, finally passed into the camp of counter-revolution. At that moment, after the split in the Kuomintang there were still certain grounds for supposing that the left Wuhan Kuomintang, headed by the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and in part by Communists, would be able to carry on a determined struggle with the counter-revolution, placing themselves at the head of the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants, and taking into their own hands the direction and control of the agrarian revolution. This did not happen, partly thanks to the fact that the former leadership of the young Kuomintang was not equal to the situation; neither did it know how nor could it decide to carry consequentially into force the revolutionary directives which it received from the Comintern. As a result, the controlling leadership passed into the hands of the petty bourgeois "left" Kuomintangites, and Wuhan betrayed the revolution, following in the steps of Chiang Kai Shek. In this way the banner of the Kuomintang was finally compromised, and out of Sun-Yat-Sen's teaching, which formerly had played a revolutionary role in China, there was brought to the front that part which was bound to become and has become the finest of political masks for counter-revolution, namely the theory that "in China there are no classes and class struggle should have no place."

The Road to Soviet Rule

The Chinese revolution will in future continue to be a national one, directed against imperialism and against feudalism. But this revolution will be carried on by the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry and in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The Chinese revolution will still be able to count on carrying with it a broad mass of town middle class traders, but the controlling leadership will belong not to the bankrupt middle class intelligentsia, but entirely to the Communist Party, the advance-guard of the Chinese proletariat. There can no longer be place for a bloc of the proletariat and the middle class traders within the framework of one national party, the Kuomintang. And in the measure that the sphere of revolution extends into industrial centres, the State power itself must be poured into the form of the rule of the Soviets; not such Soviets as exist in the U.S.S.R., not Soviets realising the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism, but Soviets fulfilling the tasks of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship. The organisation and progress of the revolution will make the slogan of Soviets, which since the capitulation of Wuhan has already been advanced as a propagandist one, a slogan of action, a slogan for direct practical realisation.

The road to the establishment of such a Soviet rule in China is not a short or easy one. We should not entertain any illusions on that score. Even if the revolutionary army, now waging a desperate struggle, were to take Canton, it would have to overcome the greatest difficulties in order to hold out and to win strength, in order to be able to launch a second northern advance on the industrial centres of China under the new Soviet slogans. Its path is extraordinarily difficult, because the Kwantung province, in which the revolutionary army is at present operating, is not an industrial province, because the proletariat in it is not numerous, and in the towns artisans predominate. Its path is extraordinarily

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After Edinburgh—Blackpool

A. J. Bennet

THE new chairman of the T.U.C. General Council, in full accordance with the resolutions of the Edinburgh Congress, expressed the hope that during his chairmanship of the General Council, England would be spared from the troubles which marked the period of activity of his predecessors. Reading the declaration of the new "leader" of the British trade unions, one is reminded of the speech that Stanley Baldwin made immediately after he scored his victory in the 1924 elections with the aid of the famous Zinoviev letter. (Peace in our time, O Lord!)

Such was the leit-motif underlying the speech of the head of the Conservative Government at a time when the diehards had commenced an offensive against the British workers, against China, and against the U.S.S.R. Three years later, after intense class combats, the "peace-lover," Ben Turner, in order to show his complete loyalty to the mineowner Baldwin, repeats his hypocritical speeches about "peace and tranquility."

"Peace in industry," is the main slogan of all the reformists, who in loving harmony with the Conservatives sing praises to the "sacred union" of the whole nation, and to class collaboration. The "left winger," George Hicks, spoke of peace in industry in his presidential speech at the Edinburgh Congress. Ben Turner has still greater right to talk of peace in industry, having, according to the competent testimony of the "Morning Post," been able to guard peace for 40 years, as the leader of one of the unions in the textile industry.

This same peace in industry was referred to at Blackpool by Ramsay MacDonald and by Herbert Smith.

The meaning of this slogan becomes clear and comprehensible for us if we turn to the position in British industry. About a year has passed since the miners were defeated. The directors of the British banks foretold a bright dawn for British industry in connection with the increase of coal output as a result of the increased hours and reduced wages of the miners. The last few months have shown conclusively that all these high-sounding promises were devoid of all basis. A new conflict is looming in the mining industry, the inevitability of which even the coalowners have had to admit. At the same time the crisis in the coal industry corresponds with the crisis in all those branches of industry which are connected with the foreign market. In other words, since the end of the mining lockout the same tendencies in the British economic situation are to be observed as existed prior to the May General Strike.

The chief branches of industry are beginning to weaken, while British capital is going to the colonies and semi-colonies—or else into those branches of industry engaged in the production of articles of luxury. This main tendency of British capitalism in the post-war epoch is increasing of late. The obsolete and backward nature of British industry becomes all the clearer when we see Germany becoming stabilised, recovering

(Contd. from page 325.)

difficult because on the very first day of the capture of power in Canton the revolutionary committee would inevitably come up against enormous financial and economic difficulties, finding against itself all the bourgeoisie and not having sufficient economic resources. Its path is difficult because a workers' and peasants' government in Canton will be directly menaced by the intervention of foreign imperialists, as has already actually happened in Swatow. In order to traverse this path the Communist Party will need to display the greatest revolutionary determination. But the path can and will be traversed, because it is the sole path to the victory of the national (and then of the social) revolution in China, because this path has already been taken and will be taken by millions of workers and peasants.

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After Edinburgh—Blackpool—continued

from military defeat, and beginning to enter the world economic area as an active factor.

The Attack on the Workers

The ruling classes of Great Britain are trying to make up for their inability to keep up with other capitalist countries with a higher technique, by combining military adventures with a pitiless attack on the positions of the British workers. Indeed, the very reason of the miners' lockout was to avoid the reorganisation of the coal industry and to obtain cheaper coal at the cost of worsening the position of the miners.

The defeat of the miners whetted the appetites of the leaders of other main branches of British industry. They are now endeavouring to carry out the same policy in respect to millions of British workers. At the same time the mineowners, having been able to utilise the results of last year's victory over the miners, are preparing to take another step forward and to effect a further reduction in the wages of British miners.

Indeed, the main object of the "Peace in Industry" slogan is to ensure a normal and painless carrying out of the programme of the British capitalists, and to prevent the worsening of the British workers' conditions from being accompanied by class conflicts.

The slogan "peace in industry" is also attractive for the reformists, for another reason. The MacDonalds and Hicks are trying to represent the failure of the General Strike and the defeat of the miners as a proof of the uselessness of strikes as a means of class struggle. In place of strikes they advocate the political struggle, by which they mean the parliamentary electoral struggle. The Labour Party, and with them the trade union leaders, accompany and supplement the slogan "peace in industry" with the slogan for an electoral struggle in order to create a new Labour Government.

It was on this platform—"Down with strikes, long live a MacDonald Government"—that the Edinburgh Congress was conducted. Its decisions can be considered as a complete triumph for MacDonald. The Blackpool Congress of the Labour Party merely had to complete and reinforce what had been achieved at Edinburgh.

The Division between the T.U.'s and the Labour Party

During the period of office of the first "Labour" Government, the formation of a distinct gulf between the trade union movement on the one hand and the Labour Party on the other—was discernible. This gulf became particularly marked during the first few months' existence of the Conservative Government, when Baldwin had only commenced to carry out the programme of reducing the workers' wages. The trade union leaders did everything possible to prevent the Labour Party from participating in the work of organising resistance to the first onslaught of the Baldwin Government. From this point of view the weeks directly preceding "Red Friday," are particularly interesting. In June and July, 1925, the trade union movement made serious preparations in order to reply to the miners' lockout by a strike not only of miners, but of all transport workers. The leaders of the Labour Party, including the ex-

Premier, made truly heroic efforts to get a hold on this movement in some form or other. But the trade union leaders pushed them aside, and right until the last hour, i.e., until the moment that the Baldwin Government gave way, the movement remained in the hands of the trade union leaders.

This gulf was still more acute at the end of 1925. The Scarborough T.U.C. was directly influenced by the "Red Friday" victory. Many of the resolutions passed by this Congress were aimed not only against the British imperialists, but also against their lackeys. One need only recall the resolution on imperialism, on China, etc. The Liverpool Labour Party Congress that followed the Scarborough T.U. Congress was of a very different nature. MacDonald and Co. took good care that the resolutions of the Liverpool Congress annulled the impression the workers had received from the decisions of the Scarborough T.U.C.

It seemed that under the influence of economic necessity the gulf between the trade unions and the Labour Party would grow still wider. But the events which followed these two congresses caused quite a different grouping of forces in the British Labour movement. In 1925, the struggle against wage reductions was settled by a compromise. The Baldwin Government did not bring things to an open collision; it considered that the ruling classes were not yet sufficiently organised for a decisive and victorious fight with the British proletariat. Things happened differently in 1926. The ruling classes, under the leadership of the Conservative Government, were able to make use of the respite in order to get ready for the fray. The reformists, moreover, proved to be sufficiently strong to prevent the workers from preparing for the coming conflicts.

The difference between the events of May, 1926 and those of June, 1925, lies first in the fact that in 1926 the class war had become a real fact and this class war became the acid test for the various groups in the Labour movement. This test revealed the superficial nature of the differences between the trade union and the Labour Party leaders. This cleavage between the two groups of leaders of organised British Labour, was replaced by a different cleavage—that which lay between the revolutionary workers on the one hand and the entire bureaucracy—both trade union and Labour Party—on the other.

The Bureaucratic United Front

The General Strike became the starting point of the consolidation and reconciliation of the entire bureaucracy of the Labour movement in defence of the strongholds of capitalism and imperialism in England. There remained formally outside this consolidation only a certain section of the bureaucracy, i.e., the miners' leaders. But it was already clear at the time of the miners' strike that the majority of the miners' leaders were of exactly the same make up as the entire trade union bureaucracy. The miners' officials remained on the side of the miners during the strike, despite the will of the General Council, not because they really desired the victory of the miners, but because by remaining with the miners, they would be able to maintain their leading positions in this most important of British trade unions. Already during the last month of the mining lockout the leaders

After Edinburgh—Blackpool—continued

of the Miners' Federation took off the mask and began to work in consort with the General Council in order to liquidate the heroic miners' struggle at the earliest possible moment.

The consolidation of the entire trade union bureaucracy, which started in May, 1926, became more and more intense after the miners returned to work on the terms dictated by the mineowners and the Baldwin Government. This consolidation received its final touches at the Edinburgh and Blackpool Congresses.

It goes without saying that MacDonald and his satellites were able to take all the political advantages from this victory that they scored at Edinburgh. At Blackpool also, they got down to work thoroughly, to see that there should not be the slightest chance of a cleavage setting in between the trade union leaders and the leaders of the Labour Party. Arthur Henderson "conceded" to Herbert Smith and allowed certain amendments to the resolution on the exclusion of Havelock Wilson's union from the Labour Party. MacDonald and Herbert Smith jointly drew up a special resolution promising all kinds of assistance to the miners. But these concessions were only made in order to pave the way for finally and definitely harnessing the trade unions to the wheels of the Labour Party. They were made in order to secure voluntary contributions to the political levy ("contracting-in") and for trade unions to use their entire influence to assure the Labour Party a Parliamentary majority.

The Final Surrender

But the Blackpool Congress was not merely confined to organisational measures. MacDonald and Henderson were perfectly conscious of the fact that during the years following the war, they had from time to time been compelled, under pressure from the workers, to pass certain radical resolutions. And the British workers, whose class instinct, according to Snowden, is merely an "ignorance of matters of practical politics," are being very out of place in reminding the ex-Premier and other former members of His Majesty's Government about these resolutions. It is just for this reason that the Executive of the Labour Party, under the guidance of MacDonald, invited the Blackpool Congress to bury these resolutions once and for all, and to draw up a realistic and practical "programme of legislation and administrative activities for the Labour Government."

This programme has not yet been drawn up. The Executive of the Labour Party has been entrusted with the task of doing so. MacDonald understands quite well that before "burying" socialism completely, there has to be a certain preparation of peoples' minds for this "reform." Hence already at this Congress, the Executive Committee got a number of resolutions passed on unemployment, income tax, education, the House of Lords, etc., which are a foretaste of the future programme. On this programme there is no longer to be found the slightest hint of the semi-socialist resolutions that were passed from time to time at previous conferences of the Labour Party. We have, therefore, every right in saying that it was precisely at Blackpool that the Labour Party finally took the shape of an openly bourgeois Party

renouncing socialism and frankly defending British imperialism.

Such is the main result of the Blackpool Congress.

The Position of the I.L.P.

The Blackpool Congress was not only marked by an open fight against socialism and against the Communist Party. It also showed profound hostility towards the Left phrasemongers of the I.L.P.

We must deal in slightly greater detail with this "Left" opposition of the Blackpool Congress.

A close study of the Congress agenda reveals that the I.L.P. tabled "radical" resolutions on a whole number of questions. The most important resolutions of the I.L.P. are those on the minimum wage, which Brailsford, Brockway and Maxton consider as a "direct transition to socialism in our time," and the resolution on the unity of the two Internationals. The slogan of the minimum wage is a curious panacea against capitalist exploitation! The demagogic nature of this slogan was disclosed to the working class of England during the mining lockout, when the brave lads of the I.L.P., instead of helping the miners in their struggle against the reduction of already beggarly wages, preferred to engage in abstract agitation for a minimum wage to be fixed by a commission of learned experts. It would also be hardly worth while dwelling on the slogan for the union of the two Internationals—of which the one (Second International) according to Lenin's formula is "the organisation of the agents of international imperialism acting inside the Labour movement," while the other (the Comintern) conducts an intense struggle against imperialism and all its lackeys—were it not for the fact that, by the aid of this slogan, they were trying to pose as friends of real unity in the world Labour movement.

This slogan has its history. Immediately after the formation of the Comintern, Ramsay MacDonald hastened to inform the world that "this fact (the formation of the Comintern) deeply grieved" him. Not content with this declaration of his sorrow, he put forward a plan for a united international which would be "sufficiently open for all forms of socialist thought." Lenin's definition of the Second International given above ("organisation of agents of international imperialism") is taken from Lenin's rejoinder to MacDonald and another part of Lenin's reply reads:

"The late Harry Quelch was deported from Stuttgart in 1907 by the German Government, for calling a meeting of European diplomats a 'thieves' kitchen.' The leaders of the Berne International are not merely a 'thieves' kitchen'—they are a set of vile murderers."

But this reply of Lenin's did not prevent the I.L.P. diplomats sending a letter to the Comintern containing twelve questions. What these questions amounted to was this: cannot the I.L.P. affiliate to the Comintern, and at the same time renounce civil war, the dictatorship of the proletariat, recognition of the Soviet regime, etc.? The Comintern gave an exhaustive reply to all these questions, emphasising that it did not intend encouraging those who were trying to "receive a passport for their opportunist activities," from the Communist International. The Comintern added that the British workers

After Edinburgh—Blackpool—continued

"should prepare not for a light Parliamentary fight—but for victory in a heavy civil war." And the correspondence ended at that.

The I.L.P.'s Double Dealing

In 1925, after the arrest of the British Communist leaders, Brockway decided that the moment had come to attempt once more—this time in a more prudent manner—to start talking about unity with the Comintern. Brockway and his friends continued their agitation for the union of the Second International with the Comintern, at the Conference of the Second International, and now also at the Labour Party Congress at Blackpool. They supplement their agitation for the unity of the two Internationals by a fight against the Communist Party in England and by most vicious attacks on the Comintern, for which purpose they use the services of the German renegade Rosenberg. (See "New Leader," Sept. 23rd, 1927.)

At the Blackpool Conference, the I.L.P. was severely punished for this cunning double-dealing. MacDonald

and Bevin, Henderson and Thomas, treated them like "canaille," explaining to them that there was no more need for their left phrases, and that in face of a clear and intense struggle between the principles of social imperialism and the principles of the revolutionary class struggle there was no place for pious phrasemongers or cunning tricksters.

But the Communist Party was represented at this Congress by a small fraction. By the joint reaction of the trade union and Labour Party officials it was possible to decrease the number of Communist delegates to the Congress. But was the influence of the Communist Party decreased? The elections to the various trade unions, the fight during the selection of parliamentary candidates, and, finally, even the agenda which was presented to the Congress, and which so sorely grieved the capitalist press, are convincing proof that while the Labour Party in league with the trade union bureaucracy is becoming consolidated as an openly bourgeois imperialist Party, the best elements of the British workers are rallying to the Communist Party of Great Britain, which has become the only Party leading the class struggle of the British workers.

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The Soviet Economic Plan for 1927-28

A. Rosenthal

WITH the economic year 1926-27 the restoration period in the Soviet economic system has in the main been completed. As far as transport is concerned, the length of railways now leaves the pre-war figure far behind. Agriculture has practically reached the pre-war level both in regard to the area sown (95.1 per cent.), and to the number of cattle (96.9 per cent.).

The new Soviet economic year 1927-28, which has now commenced, is entirely one of new construction. All basic capital (existing factories, etc.) was brought fully into use by 1926-27. Its further development is only possible by big capital investments, the building of new factories and works thus extending and increasing the basic resources of industry. Thus, whereas the restoration period marked the absorption of the basic capital inherited from capitalism, the development of Soviet economy during the reconstruction period which it has entered as from 1927-28, is directly dependent upon the dimensions and efficacy of the capital investments in basic funds.

Taken theoretically, such a sharp distinction in the conditions of economic development during the restoration and reconstruction periods respectively, ought to find expression in a change in the tempo of development. With the transition to the reconstruction period, the sweeping rise of economic development should slow down. But actually the five years prospective plan did not envisage such a rapid growth of production, of the numerical strength of the working class, and of wages, as there actually has been during the restoration period. Yet the Opposition predicted a catastrophe in connection with the transition to the reconstruction period. The economic policy of the C.P.S.U., according to the Opposition, would inevitably lead, with the transition to the reconstruction period, to a "tortoise-like" development of the national economy in general and of industry in particular.

The Rate of Progress Practically Maintained

The control figures published by the State Planning Commission for 1927-28 very convincingly refute the absurd "tortoise" philosophy of the Opposition. Now that the prospects of economic development for 1927-28 have in the main already been determined, it may be asserted quite emphatically that **this year will not bring any sharp or decisive break in the tempo of growth of production.** In this respect the turning point has already been left behind.

Gross Production (in millions pre-war roubles.)

	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
1 Agriculture	12,273	4.1	13,180
2 Industry	6,876	7,820	8,870
Total	19,149	20,595	22,056
		7.6	7.1

The gross output of industry and agriculture gives a decrease in the tempo of growth only from 7.6 per cent. to 7.1 per cent. or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The tempo of growth of commodity production increases from 8.3 per cent. in 1926-27 to 8.7 per cent. in 1927-28, and the growth of

industrial production accordingly, from 13.5 per cent. to 13.9 per cent. In other words, the tempo of growth of commodity production in 1927-28 does not decrease, but on the contrary increases as compared with 1926-27.

The tempo of constructional work is also increasing. The increase in construction of buildings and plant in 1926-27 was 15.4 per cent., while in 1927-28 the increase will be 21.6 per cent.

The figures on economic development become particularly striking when compared with the pre-war data. Production of the entire industry exceeds pre-war dimensions by 14.5 per cent., and of heavy industry by 19 per cent. If taken according to the separate industries the increase on pre-war figures is still more marked. Agricultural machinery production in 1927-28 will be 230 per cent. of pre-war, coal and anthracite 130 per cent., electrical engineering 130 per cent., oil 127 per cent., salt 114 per cent. The oil industry, which was destined to decay under capitalism, has been enabled to develop most intensively under the Soviet economic system. In 1927-28, the output of oil exceeds by 3.4 per cent. that of 1901, which was the record year under Russian capitalism. Only in certain branches such as the iron-working industry, will the 1927-28 production not yet have reached the pre-war figure.

This big growth in industrial production, has also changed the proportion of industry in the entire economic system. The proportion of industry in the combined production of agriculture and industry increases from 40.7 per cent. in 1926-27 to 42.7 per cent. in 1927-28.

In 1927-28, the pre-war level will be surpassed in transport (length of track by 32 per cent., and tonnage by 11.6 per cent.) in various branches of agriculture (big horned cattle by 12.3 per cent., wool-bearing by 25.9 per cent., etc.), in exports of oil, etc.

Capital Investment

The necessity for preserving the intended tempos of economic development and further reconstruction of the technical basis demands a corresponding increase in the capital investments in the national economic system. In the nationalised section of the country's economic system the capital investments are estimated at 3.3 milliard roubles to be allotted as follows:

	million roubles
For Industry	1,184
„ Transport	484
„ Electrification	286
„ Agriculture	819
„ Housing and municipal needs	520

A characteristic feature of the capital investments for 1927-28 is the further increase in expenditure on new buildings. This process is particularly marked in industry where the relative proportion of new construction as compared with industrial construction as a whole, growing from year to year, reaches 23.8 per cent. in 1927-28.

Such large investments in the basic funds of national

Soviet Economic Plan for 1927-28—continued

economy brings forward in a very marked degree, the problem of improving the entire system of construction and lowering the cost of building materials. The more the cost of building is kept down, the greater amounts available for capital investments in building construction. This has been taken into consideration in determining the dimensions and volume of capital construction for 1927-28. The industry in particular, the actual area of construction in 1927-28 should increase by 30 per cent., while the assignments only by 20 per cent. Thus to carry out the prospective plan of capital construction, considerable improvement in the quality of work is necessary.

The Conditions of Improvement

It should be emphasised that the need for **qualitative** improvement of work lies at the basis of the entire plan of economic and particularly of industrial development for 1927-28. The non-fulfilment of this in one section reflects on the entire economic plan.

The economic plan for 1927-28 envisages an increase of the production of State industry by 17.7 per cent. while the increase in the number of workers engaged in industry is 2.8 per cent. This quantitative increase shows the necessity for a qualitative improvement of the work of industry. The economic plan will be fulfilled only if the increase in the productivity of labour envisaged in the plan be effected. Similarly, the 10 to 12 per cent increase of real wages (with increase of nominal wages by 6.7 per cent.) can only be effected if the Budget index in turn by 5 to 6 per cent., in other words, again if there be a **qualitative** improvement of the indexes of labour of Soviet economy, in particular of the goods-producing apparatus.

In close connection with the qualitative improvement of the work of industry, is the necessity for fulfilling the prospective plan of capital investments with a reduction of the cost of production of industrial commodities by 6 per cent. If this lead is not carried out it will inevitably be reflected in a reduction of the internal accumulations of industry, and hence a reduction of the funds available for capital construction.

All this goes to show how the projected quantitative results of the 1927-28 economic plan depend upon the qualitative improvement of the work of the socialistic sector of Soviet national economy.

The growth of industrial production, the increased relative proportion of industry in national economy as a whole, and its increased leading role have also been reflected in agriculture. Agriculture has changed its physiognomy, having decisively entered upon the path of intensification. In 1927-28, the gross output of technical crops will increase by 18.7 per cent. as against a decrease of 8.4 per cent. in 1926-27. The gross production of live stock will increase by 3 per cent.

The industrial commodity market will be rather strained in 1927-28. The second half of the economic year 1926-27 brought forward very acutely the problem of the market demand and supply of industrial goods. The shortage of industrial commodities became particularly marked during the third quarter when, with an increased production of industrial goods of wide con-

sumption by 7.3 per cent. (as compared with the third quarter of the preceding year) the wages fund increased by 16.6 per cent. while the nonetary income of the countryside increased by 7.6 per cent.

In view of the tendencies taking place in respect to the market supply and demand of industrial commodities of wide consumption, the capital investments in industry have been calculated in such a way that the tempo of growth of the gross production of these commodities is increased as compared with 1926-27—(112.4 per cent. for 1927-28 as against 110.7 per cent. for 1926-27). The development of light industry is taking place on the same lines.

Prevention of Goods Shortage in 1927-28

With a view to averting a possible occurrence of an acute shortage of goods, the economic plan envisages a stabilisation of grain prices, a retention of the spring price index of industrial raw material of agricultural origin, and a 6 per cent. reduction of prices on cattle produce.

If we take the economic year from October to October, the prospects of market equilibrium are as follows: the income of the population will increase by 5.1 per cent. while the articles of wide consumption will increase by 7.3 per cent.

The further progress of the entire national economic system is also reflected by an increase in the total quantity of labour power engaged in production. While the number of wage workers engaged on agriculture is stabilised (2,041,000) the number engaged in industry is increased by 85,000, on building by 50,000, and decreases by 11,000 on transport.

This increase in the quantity of labour power, however, naturally is unable to liquidate the existing unemployment, or even to prevent a further increase of unemployment, which, in the U.S.S.R. is caused by agrarian over-population and by the growing attraction of the peasants towards the towns owing to the improved position of the workers. This will only be overcome by the intensification of agriculture.

Wage Increases

The level of subsistence of the population is continuing to rise, the income of wage-earners increasing most of all (from 795 roubles in 1926-27 to 1,843 in 1927-28). The income of the peasantry will increase from 205 to 217 roubles, and of the capitalistic groups from 1,453 to 1,493 roubles.

In 1927-28 the average monthly nominal wage of a worker in State industry will increase by 6 per cent., and the real wage by 12 per cent. (taking into account a reduction of the Budget index by 6 to 7 per cent.). Thus in 1927-28 the real wages of workers exceed the pre-war level by 12 per cent., and if various overhead charges and extras that have been directly or indirectly increased are taken into consideration, the budget of a worker's income has increased by 30 per cent.

Along with the general growth of the national economic system as a whole, the socialist (or socialistic) section is growing at an accelerated rate.

Soviet Economic Plan for 1927-28—continued

In the gross production of entire industry, the proportion of the socialist section will be increased from 86 per cent. to 87.3 per cent. The proportion of labour employed by the socialised section increases from 80.2 per cent. in 1926-27 to 80.8 per cent. in 1927-28, wages paid from 90.2 per cent. to 91.5 per cent. The proportion of the socialised section in the total trade turnover of the country increases from 72.6 per cent. to 84.5 per cent. and capital investments from 61 per cent. to 64.7 per cent.

Thus the socialised section of the national economic system is steadily outpacing the non-socialised section from year to year, at the same time gradually transforming the entire trading system by the widespread extension of co-operation.

It should be definitely emphasised, however, that the quantitative projects of the 1927-28 economic plan are

closely dependent upon the qualitative improvement of the work of the socialised section.

By the Tenth Anniversary of the "October" revolution, Workers' Russia has shown and proven what creative possibilities the revolution disposes of, and what inexhaustible creative forces the proletariat contains. Pre-war standards have already been left far behind. It will not be pre-war standards that will be the gauge of the forward movement, but the reconstruction of the Soviet transitional economic system into a socialist economic system. This period is no less difficult nor less responsible than the restoration period, but already the 1927-28 economic plan is the best indication that the workers of the U.S.S.R. will also be able to overcome these difficulties and in a most brief historic period catch up and outpace the economic and technical development of the advanced capitalist countries—provided the economic growth of the U.S.S.R. is not interrupted by intervention.

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